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CRITICAL NOTICES.

THE JEWS OF SPAIN.

An Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain. By JOSEPH JACOBS. (London: David Nutt. 1894. pp. xlvii. 263.)

IN the year 1888, Mr. Joseph Jacobs, who is known to a wide circle by his *Jews of Angevin England* and other works, undertook a voyage of investigation to Spain in order to collect from the archives there materials for the history of the Jews in Spain, or, to speak more precisely, to obtain some insight into the treasures which, in the shape of MSS., are preserved there; for merely to catalogue a small portion of the records extant in the Spanish archives, which concern the history of the Jews—to say nothing of copying them—would require years of labour on the part of several workers well versed in Palaeography and thoroughly acquainted with Spanish, and relatively with the Catalanian dialect. Mr. Jacobs had no particular epoch of Jewish history in view; and in his zeal and extraordinary industry, he did not shrink from the task of collecting, in Spain of all countries, a considerable mass of material; and indeed in no country are the State archives, lodged as they are in palaces, so well arranged, the catalogues so admirably compiled, as in Spain. We need only mention Barcelona, Alcalá de Henares, Simancas, Pamplona, the well-known archives of which were inspected and made use of by Mr. Jacobs. The results of his investigations, consisting of about 1800 single entries and twenty-nine records and documents, the toilsome labour of only twenty-eight days, now lie before us in a well-arranged volume, which is furnished with several indices, and published under the above-named title.

Accompanying Mr. Jacobs on his journey, we sojourn with him first of all at Pamplona, the capital of Navarre. The “*Archivo de Comptos*” of that place yielded him rich profit and, as we may remark at the outset, the most valuable material in the whole book; the 300 items which were copied by him in not more than four days from the excellently arranged catalogues, afford a grateful addition to the history of the Jews in Navarre, for which the three-volumed *Diccionario de Antigüedades de Navarra*, by D. José Yanguas y Miranda

of Navarre, is one of the chief sources. Mr. Jacobs might have spared himself much trouble if he had consulted this important work during his labours at Pámlona; many of the entries copied by him are already found in Yanguas; e.g. Nos. 1381, 1383, 1394 (of the year 1256), 1396, 1401, 1443 (where for the unintelligible "Fasureria," "Tafureria," gaming-house, must be read), and 1452 (where for "Fiendas" read "Tiendas," shops), 1500, 1588, and many others. In Nos. 1388, which is printed fully in my *History of the Jews in Navarra*, p. 200, "en la Caldeza" is a mistake for "en la Caldera" (cauldron). On the other hand, side by side with much that is immaterial, we obtain also much fresh, hitherto unknown matter concerning several persons who played a part in Navarre, especially concerning the members of the families Ablitas, Orabuena, &c., who occupied a position at the court of Navarre similar to that occupied by many Jews in Germany in connexion with the small princes of the Empire, viz. that of "Court Jews"; they advanced money to the kings, who constantly found themselves in embarrassed circumstances, they furnished clothes and jewellery for the queen and others belonging to the prince's household, they provided the court with corn, bread, and wine—even the purchase of horses and mules was frequently negotiated through them. We obtain from Mr. Jacobs' *Sources* further particulars concerning a personage who was not entirely unknown before, viz. D. Ezmel de Ablitas—Mr. Jacobs also writes the name "Abitas," "Oblitas"—who lent considerable sums not only to the King and Queen of Navarre, but also to the King of Aragon (1416 f.), and whose sons Ezmel (which should be read in 1422 for "Ezchel"), Salomon, and Judas (erroneously given as "Junes" in 1409), continued or rather developed their father's business.

The most influential personality among the Jews of Navarre was D. Juze (Joseph) Orabuena of Tudela, who also lived for a time at Estella, and who was private physician to the king, farmer of the taxes, and Chief Rabbi. This Juze or Juce ben Samuel Orabuena, who must be distinguished from another Juce Orabuena ben Belin, was, as we conjecture, the brother of that Juda ben Samuel Orabuena, who in the year 1348 was Rabbi in Tudela in conjunction with Yomtob ben Jonah ibn Abas, and who consulted R. Jehuda ben Asher, the son of Asheri, in an interesting marriage affair (*Responsa Sichron Jehuda*, No. 81). D. Juze Orabuena is mentioned for the first time in the year 1385, being called "Medico Judio" (1495). In conjunction with Nathan Gabay (who appears in Mr. Jacobs variously as "Nazar," "Azan," and "Anazas del Gabay") and with Juda Levi, he farmed the taxes of the whole country in the year

1391 for 72,000 libras. One wonders whether Juda Levi of Estella, who collected the succession duties from Jews and Moors, and who also stood in particular favour with the king, to whose presence, as appears from 1477, he was often summoned, was driven from his post by his colleagues. With the year 1392, which was possibly the year of his death, all further intelligence of him ceases. A law-suit, which presumably was brought forward after his death by his relatives residing in Estella (in the list of Jews who lived at Estella in 1366, which was copied by Mr. Jacobs from the *Libro de Fuegos*, document XVIII, mention is made, besides Judas Levi, of Judas Levi el Joven, the younger, Saul Levi, Salomon Levi), produced a painful sensation, so that Orabuena, who was perhaps involved in the affair, appealed to Chasdai Crescas requesting him to quiet the disturbed minds by pronouncing his decision in the matter. Thus much was indeed already known. But we learn for the first time from Mr. Jacobs' references (1570) that Crescas of Zaragoza, where he was Rabbi in 1401, did indeed come to Tudela at the king's desire, in order to settle on the spot, in conjunction with Maestre Astrug, the Rabbi of the congregation at Tudela, the matter in dispute. Likewise "Maestre Azday Rab de los Judios de Zaragoza" proceeded at the direct command of the king to Sanguesa, Exea, and other places "por ciertos negocios"; of what nature these transactions were may perhaps be ascertained from the documents themselves. That, moreover, Chasdai Crescas, "Magister Azday evesques (Cresques) judeus Aljame civitatis Cesarangastane (Cesaragaste)," was held in honour by the royal pair who ruled over Aragon, and also by Queen Violante (Zolanda), the consort of King Juan I, is shown by the reference (IX)—rendered unintelligible by clerical errors and mistakes of print—which is dated December 5, 1390, and in which D. Chasdai is named as the executor of the will of his uncle, who died at Gerona "Vitalis Azday judei civitatis Gerunde avunculi sui."

After the stay at Navarre of D. Chasdai, whose travelling expenses were paid through Orabuena and Abraham Enxoe out of the State exchequer (1570, 1574), Orabuena received as a present from the king a house situated in the Juderia at Monreal, in grateful recognition of the many good services which he had rendered him on various occasions (1571). In May, 1408, he undertook a journey to France; he passed through Barcelona, where he advanced fifty florins to the king, and went as far as Paris, where, by order of his sovereign, he delivered to the Chancellor (Chancellor r. Chancellor) of the Duke de Bretagne a female mule of the value of a hundred florins (1599). Joseph Orabuena, who remained court physician and Chief Rabbi till his death in 1413, had several sons; his son Juda, whom he appointed

to be his successor (1592), followed him in the Chief Rabbinate and in the king's favour. His daughter Sorbeillida—more correctly Solbelita, compounded from Sol (שול) and Belita (ביליטה)—was the wife of Abraham Enxoepe, Enxoepe (1610) or Schoeb, as his real name was, of Estella, private physician to Queen Leonora. We make the acquaintance of several other physicians from Mr. Jacobs' *Sources*; e.g. Maestre Azaq Bonbet fisico (1594), who is no other than Isaac Bonfos b. Schealtiel of Falces, the learned son-in-law and correspondent of R. Isaac ben Sheshet, who came to an agreement with another physician of his native town to share their common profits for five years¹; Maestre Abraham Cominto, Comineto, private physician to the queen, who passed twenty-four days at the bedside of her eldest daughter, the Infanta D. Juana, who had fallen ill at Bearn (1617); Maestre Vidal of Olite, a surgeon, and Samuel Alfaqui of Pamplona, who cured an English knight and received for this the special thanks of the queen (1519); Maestre Aron, whose successful cures became especially famous, &c. We should be inclined to doubt that Sallaman Gateymos, the physician of the Infanta D. Juana (1596), was a Jew.

Besides trade, the Jews of Navarre, like those of Aragon and Castile, engaged in the most varied occupations; they were even employed as lion-keepers. In 1338 D. Pedro of Aragon sent his lion to Valencia under the care of a Jew²; another lion-keeper was Acaz Jacob, who in 1385 brought a lion to the Queen of Navarre³; we recognize a third in Abram Azen, Azac (?), who was certainly not a Chasan as Mr. Jacobs thinks (p. 254), nor was his name Aron; and a fourth, who hailed, like all the others, from Zaragoza, and received payment of three quarters of a florin a day, is called sometimes Juzeyel, sometimes Zayet, sometimes Zazel. Similarly uncertain is the name of the animal he conducted, and which is variously styled Marzol, Marzot, Marzet (1502, 1504, 1512); nor indeed is it of much importance if we do not learn the exact name of the lion or of the lion-conductor.

That there were also jugglers among the Jews of Navarre, has hitherto been nowhere referred to. As such Judios Zuglares, or rather Juglares, as it should really be called, we find the names of

¹ See my *History of the Jews in Navarre*, pp. 86 and 87, note 1.

² *Revue des Études Juives*, XXV, 255.

³ Vide my *History*, p. 97. Mr. Jacobs refers on p. xxxvii to Amador de los Rios, II; the latter, however, mentions no one but Acaz Aben Jacob, adding indeed the reference, "*Arch. de Comptos*, caj. 45, num. 28; caj. 48, num. 23," instead of simply referring to Yanguas, *Diccionario*, III, 131. Parade notes of this character are no rarities in De los Rios.

Bonafos and Gento (1467, 1519), the sons of the above-mentioned physician Samuel. In 1381 Bonafos el Toben—el Joven—the younger had given his services in S. Maria de Pamplona, together with Mosen (Mossen) Pierres Garsel “por la alma del Vizconde de Castelbon!” The king gave command to refund to “Sancho de Mayer,” as Mr. Jacobs often writes, i. e. Sancho “el Mayor,” or Sancho the elder, the expenses incurred in this affair.

The number of Jews in Navarre was never very large; only Tudela and Pamplona had considerable congregations of 270 and 220 families. The roll of the eighty-five families who in 1366 lived in Estella, and of the twenty-five families who lived in Sangueza, furnished by Mr. Jacobs, p. 150, from the *Libro de Fuegos*, is of importance for our knowledge of Spanish family names; it is a pity that precisely in regard to the correct writing of the names so little trouble has been taken. Thus he gives us (p. xxxiv) the names of the signatories to fourteen deeds of sale belonging to the years 1245 to 1293, which were prepared in Toledo in the Arabic tongue but with Hebrew characters, and which are to be found in manuscript in the library of the Academy of History at Madrid; and the name of one and the same man appearing in four of the deeds which belong to one and the same year, is varied four times: Moses ben Chainiz, Moses ben Chinaz, Moses Chaya, and Moses ben Chaya. The last is probably correct; so also we have Samuel ben Chaya. But this is probably less the fault of Mr. Jacobs than of Professor D. Fernando Fernandez y Gonzales, who copied the deeds of sale for printing. The name Acach, Azach, which frequently occurs among the Jews of Spain, is Açac=Isaac; Gentto (Jento) Correo de Lanaga should probably be de Larraga (of Larraga), and Abraham Lera=Leria. In the list of Non-Podientes, i. e. poor people and persons exempt from taxes, in Estella (p. 151), Salomon Habn=Habet; la Vidua de Rabiona, Rabiona—also in the index—is Rabbi Jona; Donna Vaseba is Bat Seba; Lave Azen is meant for Levi; the abbreviated name of R. Nissim, Ran, Mr. Jacobs gives as Ren according to the English pronunciation; Cota, not Jota or Gotta, is a well-known Spanish family to which the poet Rodrico Cota belonged; Embolat is Bolat with the Provençal En; and Mose Basu is Basula. Many names are completely corrupted; thus Abou and Alor, Nucion, &c., to which we will return later.

We now turn to Barcelona, the capital of Aragon. In the “Palacio de los Reyes,” situated near the Cathedral and the old Juderia—that palace in whose capacious court the Inquisition held its celebrations—there is now lodged the “Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon,” one of the largest and richest archives in the world, which, thanks

to the indefatigable labours of the man who was its custodian for many years and who died three years ago, viz. D. Manuel Bofarull y Sartorio, possesses extremely excellent registers. D. Manuel Bofarull collected, during his long life, a great number of records, and worked with the idea of publishing them. It was intended by his son Francisco, that this collection of records, already prepared as it was for the press, should appear, but this has not yet taken place. Probably some considerable time will elapse before the publication of the Bofarull collection, which has reached the dimensions of many volumes.

Mr. Jacobs has copied from the "registers" of the years 1257 to 1338 about 1120 entries, specifying carefully register and page in each case. Some of these indeed have no sort of connexion with the Jews and their history, as, for example, all those which refer to "Jayme de Monjuich" (489-93). The Monjuich, that mountain situated in the neighbourhood of Barcelona and the sea, served the Jews, like the Monjuich near Gerona, as a burial-place; see No. 1079; hence also called Mons judaicus. Only a few years ago, the industrious Girbal found on the Monjuich at Gerona the tombstone of Estellina, wife of Abu Astruc Joseph, as also that of R. Joshua ben Sheshet. Jayme de Monjuich was no more a Jew than Jayme de Call (564, 565, 626, 629, 664) or Muce de Peralta. The Peraltas are an old Spanish family, and Muce or Mossen is, in the Aragonian dialect, a title equivalent to "Mr." Moreover, at least thirty entries (748, 749, 751, 753, 763, 765, 769, 788, 791, 829, 834, 837, 854, 873, 895, 913, 915, 920, 923, 936, 951, 957, 1011, 1015, 1038, 1057, and many others) have been already made use of, and quoted with register and number, by J. Amador de los Rios, l. c. II, 150-159. The documents 246, 323 were printed in full by Girbal, *Los Judios en Gerona*, pp. 66, 69. On the other hand, Mr. Jacobs has overlooked some items—a fact less remarkable than his skill in including so many in so short a stay. By way of supplementing his compilation, we add the following items taken from our notes made in Barcelona:—

- 1300. Legacion al Rey de Granada a *Samuel Alfaquin* (Reg. 252, 80, 110).
- 1301. Observancia de una gracia de fisico Rabi *Salomon Abenjacob*.
Pasaporte al Judio de Mallorca *Astrugo de Abennuno*.
Concesion de cierta gracia al Judio de Zaragoza *Azmael Avenbruch*.
- 1305. Concesion a *Vidal* de la Escribania de los Judios de Barbastro (Reg. 203, 222).
- 1306. Orden para permitir a un Judio de Zaragoza a egercer el oficio de Cirujano.

1308. Franquicia de pechos a *Isach y Jusef Avenesra*.
 Indulto al Judio *Salomon Abenvives*.
 Remision al Judio *Vidal Abulhaca*.
 Despacho sobre las escusas del Judio *Asach Avinacaza*.
 Moratoria por paga de pecho a *Isach y Jusef Avenesra*.
 Orden por que la Aljama de Huesca observase la gracia concedida a los hermanos *Abuarrabi*.
1311. Confirmacion de la franquicia concedida a Rabi *Azer Abenbontriu*.
1313. Permiso por nombrar substituto al Excl^{mo} de la Juderia de Zaragoza Rabi *Azarias*.
1318. Declaracion desaprejudical a la Aljama de Zaragoza el nombr^{to} de Rabi en favor de R. *Azarias*.
1320. Franquicia temporal de pechos a los Judios de Monclus resid. a Barbastro.
 Indulto al monadero falso *Salomon Abenmimir*.
 Remision de usuras y fraudes a *Vitas y hijos de Salomon Abenmimir*.
1322. Salvoconducto al Judio *Alatzar*.
1324. Guiage a los Judios *Isach Bonastruch* y otros (Reg. 226, 295).
 Remision de escesos a *Samuel Abendanon*.
 Esencion de tributos al Judio *Azach Arreti*.
 Esencion de peytas en Calatayud al Judio *Gento Almuli*.
1325. Remision de escesos al Judio *Isacho Altaleg*.
1327. Orden para expulsar de Valencia a la *Judia Ester*.
 Confirmacion de franquicias y concesiones al fisico *Rabi Azaria Abenjacob* (Reg. 477, 147).
1336. Proteccion para si, su familia y bienes al fisico de S. M. el Judio *Alatzar* (Reg. 860, 20, 87, 147).
 Franquicia al fisico de Zaragoza *Rabino Azarias* (Reg. 860, 60).
1337. Indulto al fisico de Zaragoza *Samuel Alatzar* (Reg. 861, 213).
 Confirmacion de un privilegio de franquicias a los hijos de *Bonafos Aventilea*, Judio de Calatayud.
 Remision a los Judios de Villafranca par haber concurrido al mercado del Arcos.
 Licencia p^a tomar prestamos de los Judios de Fraga para cubrir los cargos de la villa de Almudevar.

That bigamy was legal among the Jews in Spain, and that cases occurred as late as the fourteenth century, is well known. In each individual instance it was necessary to obtain, on penalty of death, the permission of the king ¹, and this rested its authority on the Mosaic law

¹ *Responso*, Isaac b. Sheshet, 510.

"por falta de sucesion" (649), or, as it runs in one document, "Judeos legem habere, secundum quam eis permissum est duas habere simul uxores." Bigamous marriages were indeed not at all rare. Thus it is evident from one of the items quoted by Mr. Jacobs (148), that in the year 1258 Jucef de Grassa obtained permission to enter into a marriage "por sentencia del Rey," with Regina, the daughter of Samuel Brafayre, in addition to his wife Luna. He furnishes two other cases from the years 1337 and 1338 (1226, 1227). There are, however, several other bigamous marriages recorded in the Registers of the Archives of Barcelona; thus: "Permission por tener dos mugeres con arreglo a la Ley judayca a Abraham Abuasaya" (Reg. 222, f. 169). In the same year, 1322, Strug (Astrug) Mercadell "judaeus Turricelli" took another wife "juxta legem judaicam," in addition to his wife Regina¹. "Concesion al Judio Ferrer Bonafos para usar del privilegio de tener mas de una consorte," from the year 1333 (Reg. 576, f. 80). Also a Jewish bride required the royal consent before contracting a marriage with a relative (1101).

The materials collected by Mr. Jacobs in Barcelona afford additional information of great importance concerning the taxes, both ordinary and extraordinary, for purposes of war, which the Jews had to pay. To the various tax-lists of the Jews in the kingdom of Aragon, which were already well known, Mr. Jacobs adds a few more from the year 1270 (Appendix V to VIII). These imposts, however, were very often altered, usually increased. Thus, for example, the "Aljama dels Jueus de Perpinya" had to pay some years later "X m. solidos, primerament ne hauerir un any II m. solidos; apres altron any IIII m. solidos e axi poch a poch muntaren la dita demanda a XIII m. solidos." The tributes which had to be furnished to the king by the whole of the Jews of Aragon amounted annually to 43,300 solidos Jacc.² The task of collecting these taxes was made over to certain farmers or collectors called Bayles, who were appointed, with the approval of the king, by the Bayle General, or Director General of the royal exchequer. Jacobs' *Sources* place us in a position to learn more accurately the widely extended activity and considerable influence of several of these Jewish farmers of taxes in the reign of King Jayme I. Vidal Salomon, whose son and heir, Bonafos, is mentioned (158), was farmer of the taxes or Bayle for Barcelona. The same post was occupied from 1257 to 1267, and longer for Barcelona, Gerona, Lerida, and other places,

¹ *Documentos ineditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon*, VI, 240; vide the record in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, XIV, 390.

² *Documentos ineditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon*, XII, 348.

by Benveniste de Porta, whom Mr. Jacobs, relying on the hypothesis advanced by Graetz, that Moses b. Nachman and Bonastruc de Porta are one and the same person, straightway makes the brother of Nachmani. I have already proved, in 1865, the untenableness of this hypothesis, by reason of No. 323 in the *Documentos ineditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragon*, VI, 167, which was afterwards printed in full in Girbal, l. c., p. 69, and the new data which have now been obtained have only served to strengthen me in my conclusion. While in the matter of the dispute with Fr. Pablo, in the record of October, 1263, "Moyses magister Judeus" is distinctly mentioned by Girbal, l. c., p. 66, by Tourtoulon, Jacme le Conquéran, and by others, in all later records referring to the dispute with R. de Peñaforte, Fr. Pablo, and the other Praedicators, mention is always made of Bonastruc de Porta. Nachmani never bore the name Bonastruc de Porta, and certainly King Jayme, who was himself a scholar, and was acquainted with the learned Rabbis of his country, did not confound "Moyses magister Judeus" and "Bonastrugus de Porta magister Judeus" with each other. It is significant that in March, 1264, the punishment of Bonastruc "por haber mal hablado de Jesu-christo" was remitted, that four months later (289) full absolution was granted him by the king, that finally the decree of banishment against him was revoked, and he was no longer detained for further consideration of his case. That Bonastruc, who, like his son Vidal, advanced money to the court (313, 314), was the brother of Benveniste de Porta, is evident from the record communicated by Mr. Jacobs (Appendix IV). This Benveniste, who also bought corn (167 a)—for "foneca," read "fanega de trigo"—and had his own mills in Barcelona, advanced large sums to the king, and helped him generally when he found himself in money difficulties. When the Bishop of Barcelona and the Count of Ampurias journeyed to France, in 1263, on a mission of the king's, Benveniste lent them the sum of 15,000 solidos for their travelling expenses (355, quoted already by Tourtoulon, l. c., II, 472); on the other hand he received, besides permission to coin money, some landed property (232), the assignment of the king's taxes in Perpignan (339), &c.

The richest and most powerful Jew of Aragon was Jehudano or Jehuda de Cavalleria of Zaragoza, the founder of a widely branching and highly respected family, which played a great part in Spain, especially in the fifteenth century. He was a tax-collector or Bayle in Zaragoza, and at a later period Treasurer-General of Aragon; he advanced the king D. Jayme enormous sums of money and rendered him and the country important services. When in 1274 D. Jayme proceeded to the "Concil" which Pope Gregory X had assembled,

Jehudano sent him 10,000 sueldos (538). As security for the sum thus advanced to the king, the revenues from the salt-works of the whole of Aragon were made over to him (298), as was also the Herbage or tax raised on small cattle such as sheep and goats (352), an impost which was introduced in Jayme's reign. He received also estates in Valencia—"Donacion à Jahudan de la Paza de tierra" should run "Donacion à Jahudan de la plaza de tierra en Valencia" (240)—and a tower with several houses in Valencia, which the king gave him for a present (475). Jehudano, who discharged various functions in the administration of justice, and in fact, as may be gathered from No. 572, possessed unlimited powers, so that he could order the property of persons who had committed murder to be sold, obtained permission to keep a Cosador, or rather Casador, a judicial official who carried out a judicial decision (267). Jehudano, who was not one of the strict members of the congregation of Zaragoza, having been indeed once charged with being irreligious (408), had several sons: one of them, Salomon, was Bayle of Murviedro and other places (517); another bore the name of Chisdai, as we should probably read instead of Hizde (562). At a later time they carried on the business in conjunction with their father.

The position of Bayle of Tortosa, Morella, and other places was occupied for many years by Astruc Jacob Xixen, to whom assistance was afforded by the Justicia, at the king's command, in his suit against his noble debtors (251), and who stood in such high favour with D. Jayme that he was exempted from various burdens and taxes (405), received for life half of the crops which fell to the king from his property near Morella (407), and obtained permission to erect baths in his house (for "en su habitar" read "habitacio," 386). Vives, the son of Jucef Abenvives, discharged the duties of Bayle or collector of Alfandich, Cervera, Algeciras, and other places, while the Bayle of Murviedro was Jucef ibn Shaprut (Avenxaprut), who also received gifts of landed estates from the king (402). An interesting personality, concerning whom several other records are extant in the archives at Barcelona, is Astruc Bonsenyor, mentioned in No. 159 and identical with Astruc Bonseignor (369), who acted as Arabic secretary in the service of D. Jayme. His son, the not unknown Jehuda Bonsenyor and his grandson, Bonsenyor, the royal physician of Barcelona, who was held in such high esteem by the king, lived in the same house as Astruc. That Solomon Adret, who is named in a bond which is printed in full (Appendix III), is the celebrated Barcelona Rabbi of the same name, as Mr. Jacobs assumes, is open to serious doubt. In the year at which the bond is dated, viz. 1262, R. Solomon Adret was twenty-two to twenty-five years old, and it is certain that

he did not carry on any money business. The Solomon Adret referred to was, we suspect, the grandfather of that Solomon Adret in Barcelona who in the year 1391 embraced Christianity and took the name of Ludovico Guixar¹. A Solomon Adret was, according to the deeds of the Valencia Inquisition, punished in October, 1490, by that Inquisition, together with his wife Isabel, "por la ley de Moysen²." The name of the private court physician, to whom in 1271 an annual pension of 500 solidos Jacc. was granted, is not Jucepho Abentudi, as Mr. Jacobs writes (400), but Jucef Abentrevis; and the Isach mentioned in No. 724 was not called Jaffies (Jafe), but Jaffiel, Jafiel = Jahiel. Mosse el Neyto (651) has nothing to do with the family name of Nieto, as Mr. Jacobs supposes, p. 261; instead of Neyto, we should read viejo—Mosse el Viejo, which means Moses senior or the elder. That the Jews who were banished from France found an asylum in Aragon has been already established by me³ on the testimony of records which Mr. Jacobs also communicates; and the municipal regulations affecting the Jews, which he copied in the Archivo municipal at Barcelona, are to be found for the most part in my article on the Jews in Barcelona⁴.

As regards the library of the cathedral, or the archiepiscopal library in Barcelona, I can assure Mr. Jacobs, that even if the cathedral had not just been undergoing repair and if "the librarian had not seized the opportunity to take a little holiday" (p. xxxviii), he would scarcely have obtained admittance to it. During my stay in Barcelona, I preferred a request to the archbishop, through Dr. Balary Jovany, Professor of Greek Language and Literature at the University of that city, asking him to be kind enough to grant me the use of the documents and manuscripts in the archiepiscopal library, among which are said to be also some Jewish ones; but, on some pretext or other, my request was absolutely refused.

In Alcalá de Henares Mr. Jacobs copied an astonishing amount in a few hours; but to use with some profit the excellently arranged documents of the Inquisition of Toledo, which are placed in long halls—to say nothing of those of Valencia, which, as late as 1892, had not yet been entirely reduced to order—requires further preliminary studies extending over many months, if not years. Also it may not be known that very many Relaciones of the Autos-da-fé which took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have

¹ *Revue des Études Juives*, IV, 60.

² Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries* (New York, 1894), p. 90.

³ *Revue des Études Juives*, XXVII, 149.

⁴ *Ibid.* XXVIII, 106 ff.

appeared in print, but are seldom to be met with outside Spain. Thus concerning the persons mentioned on p. 3, No. 21, further details are to be found in the printed *Relacion* on the Auto-da-fé held on Sunday, March 15, 1722, in the church of the Convent of S. Pedro Martyr in Toledo. Manuel de la Mota, called also Francisco Manuel de Torres; his wife, Maria de Sofo; their eighteen-year-old daughter, Laura Maria de la Mota; also Fernando Diaz Cordiza, who at the age of forty-seven had married in accordance with the Mosaic law; his wife, Maria de Espinosa; their children, Francisco and Manuela Diaz Cordiza; Francisco de Mendoza y Rodriguez, a resident like the others mentioned in Granatula near Murcia, who had married Leonor de Espinosa according to the Mosaic law; their children, Maria and Anna de Mendoza Rodriguez y Espinoza, Josefa de Mendoza y Rodriguez, the sister of Francisco, thirty-five years of age; all these were sentenced to "carcel perpetuo," while Manuel de la Mota was to receive besides two hundred lashes.

In the Escorial Mr. Jacobs gave himself unnecessary trouble to note down the titles of several Spanish works composed by Jews or affecting Jews and Jewish literature. Most of these, if not all, are already known, and many, like the *Consejos de Rabbi don Santob de Carrion, Tizon de España, Pugio Fidei*, have also been printed. Of more importance is the list of documents and works in manuscript at the National Library at Madrid. "Rabbi Samuel de Naunecos" (267) is "Samuel de Maruecos," the same who (1261) addressed the well-known *Epistolas* to R. Ishae de Sujurmenza. Whether the manuscript copy of the *Scrutinium Scripturarum* of Paul de Burgos contains more than the printed work is not stated. The *Dichos y Sentencias* of Jafuda Bonsenyor (1329) were already partly worked at in 1859 by Ad. Helfferich, and appeared complete in print some years ago. Mr. Jacobs would have earned special merit as regards our knowledge of history if, in addition to taking copies of the historical records (XIII-XVII), he had also copied the rest of those of which a very few are known through De los Rios, especially, for instance, from No. 1280 to 1305.

In Simancas there is surely more material than Mr. Jacobs mentions, p. 124 f. In the Camara de Castilla are Leg. 1-55: "Papeles sobre la expulsion de los Judios," and Salas XXXIX, XL, and XLI are full of records of the Inquisition de Aragon y Castilla desde su Fundacion. Regarding the Jews of Manresa, D. Eduardo Tamaro gives a short extract from the history of that town, written by Sr. D. Mas y Casas. If we mention further the records, chiefly Portuguese, taken from the British Museum, which refer to the general pardon conferred in 1674 upon secret Jews or Christãos-Novos—the bull of Pope Innocent XI,

which is here mentioned (No. 1238) without date, is dated November 28, 1676—also a discourse by the author on Jewish historiography in general and on Spanish-Jewish history in particular, reprinted from the *Boletín de la r. Academia de la Historia in Madrid*, XV, 152 ff.; and finally an Introduction, which is a sort of index to the work and which was already published in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, VI, 597 ff., we have exhausted the subject-matter of the book. The volume concludes with several lists compiled with extraordinary industry, and including a register of Spanish-Jewish authors, and a Spanish-Jewish bibliography which admits of amplification and from which the tables of contents of the historical works of J. Amador de los Rios and H. Graetz might conveniently have been omitted, for here and there errors have crept in respecting the names of places and persons occurring in the lists which are given. Abner de Burgos was not called Abraham, but Alphonso de Valladolid; the name of the German translator of *Prince and Dervish* is not Veislovitz, but Meisel. Abraham Zacuto, the author of the *Jochasin*, lived and laboured not in Zaragoza, but in Salamanca. For “Diego Bacorassa” we should read “Barrassa,” &c., &c.

With all respect for the author and with full acknowledgment of his achievements, we still cannot refrain from making one or two observations. Several entries are so compressed that they remain quite unintelligible; thus, for example, 1115, “Promesa . . . 5 años deudos Lerida, Zaragoza, Valencia, or 1140, Promesa, Monzon; 1148, Promesa, Alcolea,” which in reality should run: “Promesa de no inquirir en 5 años por usuras contra los Judios de Alcolea.” If the various entries with the initial word Promesa are to be referred to 1063 or 1125 as being of the same tenor, this should at least have been indicated in a note. Very confusing also are the many words in the registers and documents, which are so distorted as to be unintelligible, A whole list of these could be drawn up; we will only note a few of them: “Genova” (756) for “Gerona”; “Liria” (1039), or in the index “Lizia,” for “Lerida”; “Junes de Ablitas” (1409) for “Judas”; “Azac Abdanza fijo de D. Abran Abolbaza” instead of “Abolfada” (1403); “avenguanar” for “averiguar”; “Maer Zabaira” (716) for “Micer”; “Castan” (1087) or “Caston” (1213) for “Castellan”; “taxo de Castos” for “Gastos”; “copradia” for “confradia”; “Vealenga” (1198), “Veslingo” (1201), “Vealengo” (1208) for “Realengo”; “Tazas de Arger” for “argent”; “Rey Davagon” (1455) for “d’Aragon”; “mernidad” or “merntridad” for “merindad,” and many others.

Nevertheless Mr. Jacobs’ *Sources* form a valuable contribution to the history of the Jews in Spain, and will render very real service

to all those who engage in its study; the *Sources* will indeed long occupy a place in literature as an authority on the subject.

M. KAYSERLING.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW GRAMMAR.

Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik, von Dr. W. BACHER, Professor an der Landes-Rabbinerschule zu Budapest. Separat-Abdruck aus dem 49 Bände der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1895, 120 pp.)

PROF. W. BACHER, whose energies seem unlimited, describes in this essay the origin and development of Hebrew grammatical science during the centuries preceding Haggug. The scientific study of that language was inaugurated with the advent of this writer, so that Abraham Ibn Ezra in the *Sefath Jether*, No. 74, rightly remarks: "Hebrew grammar did not exist till Jehuda ben David arose, chief of the grammarians." Before Haggug, however, we may already discover germs and traces of Hebrew grammar, which ought not to be passed over by the historians. These Dr. Bacher has grouped in nine chapters, and collated systematically.

The first chapter (pp. 3-7) notices grammatical elements in traditional literature. The author correctly points out that current conceptions of the existence of grammatical elements in Talmud and Midrash are exaggerated; it is not proper to speak of a grammar of the Hebrew language in the period that produced the Talmud. Only an exiguous number of merest traces of linguistic categories of a very general character exist, and these afterwards became constituent elements of grammatical terminology. The contributions of traditional literature to later Hebrew grammar, Dr. Bacher exhaustively collects and enumerates.

The second chapter (pp. 7-12) indicates the extent to which the Massorah, by its isolated rules and technical terms, prepared the way for Hebrew grammar. The author justly styles the Massorah the cradle of Hebrew grammar; because, for the sake of preserving the true text, the Massorites carefully distinguished the various forms and grouped together those that were similar. On the other hand, these Massorite lists lack grammatical character. The Massorites, only concerned with the correct reading of the text, for instance, jumbled together Hebrew with Biblical Aramaic. Their interest centred not in Hebrew as a language, but in the text of the Hebrew scriptures.